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AUTHOR Sonntag, Selma K.
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ABSTRACT

A dialect survey of the transition between two major Indo-Aryan languages in Nepal, Bhojpuri and Maithili, was conducted focusing on both the linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects of the various languages and dialects. The purpose of the study was to find out where and how this transition occurred between the pure Bhojpuri-speaking area and the pure Maithili-speaking area by surveying the area in between. To gather linguistic data, lists were elicited, and a sociolinguistic questionnaire, involving tape recording and oral questioning, was administered. It is concluded that caste dialects do not have an influence on the dialect transition of this survey area, but there is evidence that social-patterning dialects exist. This means that certain groups of people have certain social patterns in common and that there is more social interaction within this group than between groups. These social-pattern groups may or may not correspond to castes. The likeness percentages and the sociolinguistic scale table both showed that the transition is mainly a gradual, geographical transition from west to east, from Bhojpuri to Maithili. (NCR)

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TRANSITIONAL DIALECTS BETWEEN BHOJPURI AND MAITHILI

Selma K. Sonntag

August 1976

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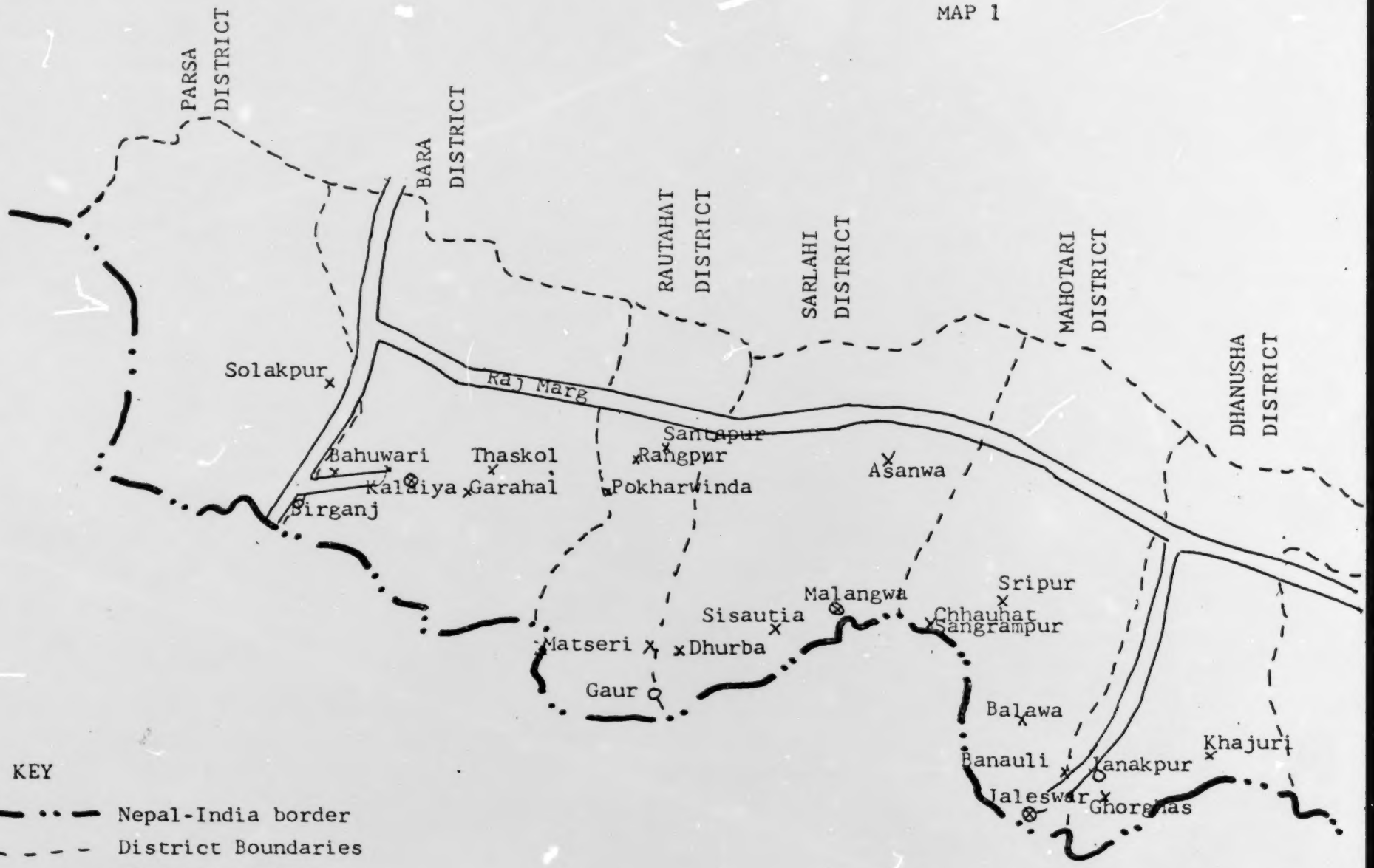
Nepal, known for its linguistic diversity, is the linguist's perfect laboratory. This laboratory needs to be used to its fullest extent to benefit both linguistics and the language planning programs of Nepal. It is important that linguists focus on both the linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects of various languages and dialects. Taking this into account, I conducted a dialect survey of the transition between two major Indo-Aryan languages in the Terai. This thesis is the result of that study.

The specific area where the dialect survey was conducted was a east-west cross-section approximately between Birganj and Janakpur. This area included six districts (jillas): Parsa, Bara, Rautahat, Sarlahi, Mahotari and Dhanusa. (See Map 1.) In the western extreme of this area Bhojpuri, a major Indo-Aryan language, is claimed to be spoken. In the eastern extreme of the survey area Maithili, another major Indo-Aryan language, is spoken.[1] Census figures show that Maithili, the second major language in Nepal, has 1,327,242 speakers and Bhojpuri, the third major language in Nepal, has 806,490 speakers.[2] The linguistic puzzle to be deciphered was the transition between these two major languages. The purpose of the study was to find out where and how this transition occurred between the pure Bhojpuri-speaking area and the pure Maithili-speaking area by conducting a dialect survey over the area in between.

In order to study the dialect transition of the area, it was first necessary to define 'dialect' in workable terms for the survey. 'Dialect' was defined as any speech spoken in a community that differs slightly from the speech spoken in adjacent communities. This definition isn't meant to be strict but is a working definition and served its purpose during the survey.

The proposed research of the dialect transition between Bhojpuri and Maithili was based on an article by D. N. S. Bhat in International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics, 1:1:1972. Bhat explains in this article why the distinction between 'dialect' and

MAP 1



KEY

- Nepal-India border
- District Boundaries
- o District Capitals
- x Villages in which research was conducted
- ⊗ District Capitals in which research was conducted

Scale: 1:506,880

Nautical Miles: 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50

Kilometers: 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90

'language' is often misconstrued in Indo-Aryan language speaking areas. First he states, "[e]ven though the Indo-Aryan language area has been divided into eight or nine different and major language areas, the whole area has been reported by scholars to be a continuum, with the spoken variety varying slightly from one village to another". (Bhat 1972:175) Bhat hypothesizes that this transition is perhaps due to the Indo-Aryan migration patterns. "The Indo-Aryan language area probably represents one single migration, the community or speech of the community spreading gradually across the plains...". (Bhat 1972:175) Yet in such Indo-Aryan language areas, language and dialect boundaries are most often distinguished in terms of political boundaries and literary trends thus the true language-dialect continuum pattern often remains unrecognized.

The survey proposed to uncover the dialect transition pattern between Bhojpuri and Maithili that until now has remained unrecognized and unknown. The need to study such a linguistic situation is obvious: for progress in language planning in developing countries the real language-dialect patterns and sociolinguistic patterns should be known. Language planning based only on political and/or literary language and dialect patterns will run into difficulties when instigating policies. Such a dialect transition study as the one presented here can provide data for language planning programs. I am hoping this study may benefit Nepal's language planning programs. "Government decision makers should take the help of sociolinguists when they make decisions about language policy or when they seek to solve sociolinguistic problems." (Dahal 1974:153)

1.1. Fieldwork of the survey was conducted from October 1975 to April 1976. The field methodology was fairly simple: lists dealing with words and morphemes were elicited and a sociolinguistic questionnaire was conducted in an east-west cross-section of villages in the area using mostly bilingual informants (i.e. using Nepali as the mutual language between investigator and informants). (For location of the villages see Map 1 and for information regarding the age, sex, and education of the informants see Table 1.) In the synoptic report of this study written in May, 1976, the methods, the

TABLE 1

Information regarding age, sex and education of all informants.

Age range of informants: 16 years old to 55 years old.

Sex: #of male informants: 40

# of female informants: 4

Total number of informants: 4 4

Education;

# of Informants who have at least passed SLC*: 13 informants

# of Informants who have not passed SLC: 24 informants

# of Informants who didn't give information on their education: 7 informants

* SLC is the exam given in Nepal to students after they have finished 10th grade.

errors and the learning experiences of the field research were discussed in great detail therefore that information is not included in this thesis. Briefly then, the eliciting lists consisted of a forty-nine word list, a common expression list, and a list of a variety of verb paradigms. All three lists consisted of items that specifically differed in Bhojpuri and Maithili. (Solakpur, a village on the western extreme of the survey area was used as the base Bhojpuri dialect and the dialect of Ghorghas, a village of the eastern extreme, as the base Maithili dialect.) The sociolinguistic questionnaire was conducted in two parts. The first part consisted of taping on a cassette recorder short stories told by informants from eighteen different villages. The second part was the oral questionnaire. The taped stories were played to informants from eight different villages across the survey area. After listening to each story, the informant was asked four questions: (1) Is the storyteller's dialect exactly the same, very similar, similar, a little different, or very different from your dialect? (2) What language is the storyteller speaking? Bhojpuri, Maithili, or a mixture of the two? (3) What is the caste of the storyteller? (4) From what area does the storyteller come?

Thus two basic field methods were used: eliciting lists and a questionnaire. The first method provided linguistic data and the second method provided sociolinguistic data.

1.2. The analysis of the data was conducted in Kathmandu. Several techniques were used. First the analysis of eliciting lists was done using two methods: likeness counts and isoglosses. For the likeness counts, 109 combinations of two villages at a time were formed for the villages in which work had been conducted. For each of the 109 combinations, the lists of words, common expressions and verb paradigms were compared. If two villages of a specific combination had a specific word or morpheme in common, this was marked on a table. Likewise items that were dissimilar between two villages of a combination were also marked on the table. This was then tabulated into the total number of similar items and the total number of dissimilar items for each combination. The percentage of similar items for each combination of two villages was then calculated.

Isoglosses were made for all three eliciting lists. This was done by taking a specific word or item and mapping on a skeleton map of the villages isoglosses of the variations of the word found in the survey area. Thus it was either vocabulary or morphemes that were mapped as isoglosses. The phonology was not touched on at all.

The sociolinguistic data was dealt with next. Data concerning informants opinions of whether the taped dialects were the same, very similar, similar, different, or very different were placed on a table using a 1 to 5 scale for the above descriptions respectively.

The sociolinguistic data concerning informants' opinions of whether the taped dialects were Bhojpuri or Maithili or mixed were also placed on a table. This table only shows which dialects informants thought were Bhojpuri and which were Maithili. Answers such as mixed, local, dehati, or Tharu were not tabulated because there was too big a variety. This information was then plotted on a skeleton map. During the dialect survey informants were asked what they thought their own language was. This information was also plotted on a map.

1.2.2. The next step in the analysis was to correlate the linguistic data and the sociolinguistic data. This is an important step. Linguistic and sociolinguistic data in many instances show no correlation. There is often a wide discrepency between the two because influences other than purely linguistic ones have an effect on people's view of their own language and other languages and/or dialects. Social and political attitudes, superiority/inferiority feelings of various groups of people, etc. may tint their view of their own language milieu and that of others. Thus such "sociolinguistic" data, i.e. people's own opinions of their language and others, along with linguistic data must be taken into consideration when a country is forming its language policies. If sociolinguistic data is ignored, the well-planned, purely linguistic-based policies may prove useless when faced with these other previously unknown influences, such as prestige and prejudice. "Both scholars and policy makers in the language field would benefit from a familiarity with at least the more recurrent sociolinguistic phenomena which may characterize

multilingualism, especially those differences in the ways in which individual languages are ranked and used by people." (Stewart 1962: 16) Seeing if a correlation existed between the linguistic and sociolinguistic data would show if, in the survey area, influences other than purely linguitic ones, play a strong enough role to affect the overall linguistic/sociolinguistic pattern. Also, if the correlation between the linguistic and sociolinguistic data proved positive, then both sets of data could be used to support any conclusions drawn about the transition pattern.

In order to see if a correlation existed between the two types of data, the likeness percentages were compared to the scale table showing informants' opinions of whether other dialects were similar or different. This was to see if, on a whole, the dialects that informants claimed were exactly the same as their own dialect corresponded to a high likeness percentage between the two dialects. The same went for dialects that an informant would claim were different from his own dialect: did these dialects have a lower likeness percentage with the informant's dialect? This was done by taking all the 1's (i.e. exactly the same) on the table and matching them with the corresponding likeness percentage. For example, a 1 between two villages on the scale table was matched with the likeness percentage between the exact same two villages. Not all the 1's on the scale table had a matching likeness percentage. In other words, some combinations of two villages were included in the sociolinguistic survey but were not included in the likeness counts. The matching likeness percentages were then averaged out thus giving an average likeness percentage that corresponded to 1 on the scale. The same was done with the 2's, 3's, 4's and 5's on the scale table.

The above was also graphed. The x-axis was the likeness percentages. The y-axis was the sociolinguistic scale. Points were plotted that represented the corresponding likeness percent and number on the scale table.

2. Now that the various methods of analysis have been explained, the analyzed data with comments will be presented in the same order that the explanation of the methods were presented.

2.1.1. Table 2 shows the likeness percentages. The first thing that strikes one as one is looking at the table is: why are the percentages so low? The percentages range from 8.9% to 80% which is a low range for dialects that are all mutually intelligible. The reason for such low percentages is that the words and items in the lists were chosen because they differed in Bhojpuri and Maithili. The regular Swadesh word lists[3] were not exclusively used. Instead the lists were made up partly from the Swadesh lists and partly from other words and from common expressions and verb paradigms. These lists were meant to give a very low likeness percentage between the extreme western Bhojpuri village and the extreme eastern Maithili village.

If one examines this table, a fairly clear-cut pattern will emerge: villages in the west have the highest likeness percentage with other villages in the west. The further one moves east, the lower the likeness percentages with villages in the far west become. Villages a little further east than the far western villages have a high likeness percentage with the far western villages, and with villages just to the east of them. But, once again, as one moves further east, the likeness percentages lower. Villages in the middle area have high likeness percentages with villages just east and just west of them but have lower likeness percentages with villages on the extreme west and extreme east. Finally, villages furthest east have a high likeness percentage with other villages in the east. As one moves west, the likeness percentages with these eastern villages gradually becomes lower. Thus the table shows an east-west geographical transition for the likeness percentages.

There are a few noticeable exceptions to the above:
Ghorghas appears to have the lowest likeness percentage of all eastern villages with villages in the far west. This is probably because items that were specifically different between Ghorghas and Solakpur (in the west) were selected for comparison.
Asanwa in Sarlahi District seems to have higher likeness percentages with villages both east and west of it than do nearby villages. This is possibly because the Asanwa informants always gave a variety of forms for each item. In other villages usually only one form was elicited - presumably the most common one if other forms are used

TABLE 2 Likeness Percentages

Notes: - = this combination of villages wasn't included in the likeness counts.
Villages with numbers after their name were villages in which work was done with separate informants. Each number refers to a specific informant.

	Solakpur	Bahuwari	Kalaiya	Garahal 1	Garahal 2	Garahal 3	Thaskol 1	Thaskol 2	Pokharwinda	Rangpur	Santapur	Matseri 2	Matseri 1	Dhurba	Sisautia	Malangwa 2	Malangwa 1	Asanwa	Ch. Sangrampur	Sripur	Balawa	Jaleswar	Banauli	Ghorghas 1	Ghorghas 2	Ghorghas 3 non-Maithili Brahmin	Khajuri
Solakpur	X																										
Bahuwari	73.3	X																									
Kalaiya	68.8	65.6	X																								
Garahal 1	-	-	-	X																							
Garahal 2	77.1	63.3	64.6	72.9	X																						
Garahal 3	-	-	-	-	-	X																					
Thaskol 1	-	-	-	-	-	63.5	X																				
Thaskol 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	53.9	X																			
Pokharwinda	62.0	-	53.2	-	64.6	-	-	-	X																		
Rangpur	-	-	-	-	-	-	64.5	-	65.7	X																	
Santapur	62.9	45.6	63.3	80.0	-	-	-	-	67.1	75.3	X																
Matseri 2	30.3	-	37.5	-	-	-	-	-	43.8	-	52.8	X															
Matseri 1	-	-	-	47.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	52.6	X														
Dhurba	46.7	35.2	41.3	-	45.2	-	-	-	57.0	-	77.2	62.5	-	X													
Sisautia	35.2	-	39.2	-	-	-	55.7	-	-	53.8	-	-	43.0	56.8	X												
Malangwa 2	29.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	69.3	X											
Malangwa 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	60.8	-	-	-	-	-	71.1	X										
Asanwa	43.8	-	42.7	-	45.7	-	-	-	60.8	-	74.3	-	-	75.0	-	78.9	-	X									
Chhauhat Sangrampur	35.2	-	38.6	-	30.8	-	-	-	42.5	-	58.2	58.7	-	61.9	53.8	54.2	-	63.7	X								
Sripur	-	31.3	-	-	31.5	-	-	-	-	36.5	-	-	-	-	50.0	-	-	58.4	50.6	X							
Balawa	16.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	37.7	-	39.2	56.2	-	39.8	-	-	56.6	-	41.0	64.2	X						
Jaleswar	19.2	-	25.8	-	30.9	-	-	-	39.2	-	51.0	-	-	49.4	-	55.7	-	58.3	43.0	-	69.3	X					
Banauli	-	-	-	-	-	17.0	-	-	-	29.1	-	-	52.3	-	35.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X				
Ghorghas 1	11.4	8.9	21.9	23.5	-	-	-	-	29.1	-	41.0	42.7	-	33.7	-	32.5	-	53.8	35.2	-	57.6	56.3	63.2	X			
Ghorghas 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	75.0	X		
Ghorghas 3 non-Maithili Brahmin	19.0	-	-	-	-	33.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	57.1	-	X	
Khajuri	14.3	-	23.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	48.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	57.5	56.8	49.5	62.6	-	59.5	X

at all. But in Asanwa, several alternative forms were given. Thus Asanwa had alot more items in common with a greater variety of villages than most other villages.

Matseri, a Maithili Brahmin village in Rautahat District, has a lower likeness percentage with western villages than do the surrounding non-Maithili Brahmin villages. Matseri has a slightly higher likeness percentage with Ghorghas, a Maithili Brahmin village in the far east, than do other villages around Matseri. It has even a higher likeness percentage with Banauli, in eastern Malotari District, where the informant was also Maithili Brahmin. Yet, even though Matseri has a high likeness percentage with Ghorghas and Banauli, it has still higher likeness percentages with its non-Maithili Brahmin surrounding neighbor villages such as Dhurba. This situation will be discussed further in the conclusion of the thesis.

Finally, Jaleswar has higher likeness percentages with villages west of it and lower likeness percentages with villages east of it than does Balawa. Yet Balawa is west of Jaleswar. There is no apparent reason for this discrepency. It should be noted that the Jaleswar informant was a Sũri which is a lower caste than that of the Balawa informant who was a Yadov. However, in other cases where one caste is lower than another, this discrepency does not appear.

2.1.2. The maps of isoglosses made for the word and common expressions lists showed no pattern whatsoever. These maps generally ended up being a hodge-podge of isoglosses which is what scholars usually find to be the case. The isoglosses plotted for the verb paradigms were more helpful. For the verb paradigms, the various isoglosses of a verb root, or a participle, or the various personal terminations of a verb tense were plotted. (An example of the isogloss maps for the verb paradigms is given in Maps 2 and 3 along with an index for the numbered villages for these maps and all following maps.) The overall pattern of these verb isoglosses showed a fairly large transition area where the isoglosses overlap. This transition was approximately from village n.4 (Garahal) to village no.14 (Chauhat Sangrampur). "[Dialectologists] distinguish between 'focal areas', that is, those that are relatively free from major isoglosses, and 'transition zones', that is, those that are cut by large bundles of

VERB ISOGLOSSES

Present Continuous Marker for all pronouns

___ /te/ (Bhojpuri)

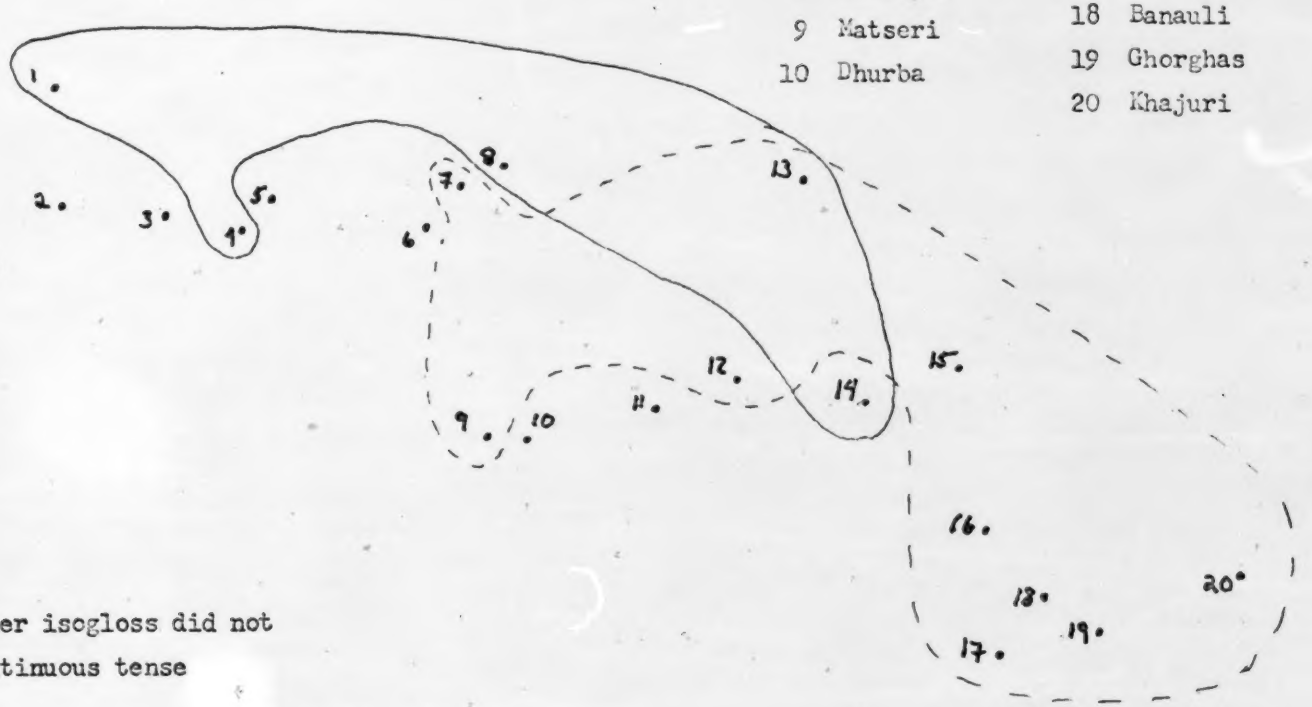
- - - /rahal/ (Maithili)

Bhojpuri - Maithili

MAP 2

Index of Villages

1 Solakpur
2 Bahauwari
3 Kalaiya
4 Garahal
5 Thaskol
6 Pokharwinda
7 Rangpur
8 Santapur
9 Matseri
10 Dhurba
11 Sisautia
12 Malangwa
13 Asanwa
14 Chauhat Sangrampur
15 Sripur
16 Balawa
17 Jaleswar
18 Banauli
19 Ghorghas
20 Khajuri



Note: Villages not in either isogloss did not give the Present Continuous tense

VERB ISOGLOSSES

Bhojpuri - Maithili

MAP 3

1st person singular verb ending of Present Continuous tense

——— -baani' (and variations) (Bhojpuri)

- - - -c^{h}i' (Maithili)

Note: Villages not in either isogloss did not give 1st person singular of the Present Continuous tense

isoglosses. The focal area - transition zone model thus draws a distinction between areas of uniformity and areas of diversity." (Gumperz 1971:82-83) Thus, in the survey, on the basis of the verb paradigms, two focal areas can be distinguished: the far west and the far east. Then there is a large transition zone between these two areas.

While plotting the isoglosses of the verb paradigms, an interesting phenomenon became apparent. As one moves from west to east, verbs do not make a sudden switch from Bhojpuri to Maithili. Rather the change is gradual: often only one part of the verb such as the root or ending will change from Bhojpuri to Maithili in one particular locale while the rest of the verb doesn't change until one moves further east. For example, in the present perfect of the verb 'to go', the root changes from Bhojpuri to Maithili as far west as Garahal. But the personal terminations start changing at Thaskol which is east of Garahal. Yet even in Thaskol not all the personal terminations are Maithili; some are still Bhojpuri. In the present continuous tense, many villages combine the Bhojpuri present continuous participle with the Maithili present continuous personal terminations or vice versa. Maps 2 and 3 show this visually. For example, notice in Map 2 that Asanwa (village 13) is in both the Bhojpuri and Maithili isoglosses but in Map 3 it is only in the Maithili isogloss. Thus Asanwa sometimes combines the Bhojpuri present continuous marker or participle with Maithili personal endings. Another example is Rangpur (village 7). Rangpur is in the Maithili isogloss for the participle but in the Bhojpuri isogloss for the personal terminations. In other words, in Rangpur the present continuous tense is a mixture of Bhojpuri and Maithili. "Isoglosses often do not even correspond with each other; that is, individual features may not diffuse at the same time or in the same way. Changes...are gradual...even within the isoglosses." (Ervin-Tripp 1973:348) This is why there is truly a 'transition' zone with no clear-cut boundaries.

2.2.1. Moving on to the sociolinguistic data, Table 3 shows informants' opinions of whether other dialects are similar or different to their own, using the 1 (i.e. exactly the same) to 5 (very different) scale. Notice that in some villages, more than one story was taped and in other villages, more than one informant was questioned.

Villages in which informants were questioned	Solakpur[1]	Solakpur[2]	Bahuwari	Kalaiya[1]	Kalaiya[2]	Garahal	Thaskol	Pokharwinda	Rangpur	Santapur[1]	Santapur[2]	Santapur[3]	Dumaria	Matseri	Dhurba	Malangwa	Asanwa[1]	Asanwa[2]	Balawa	Jaleswar	Banauli	non-Maithili Brahmin Ghorghas[1]	Maithili Brahmin Ghorghas[2]	Khajuri	Villages in which stories were taped
Solakpur$_1$	1	-	1	1	1	3	3	4	2	3	4	3	4	4	3	4	4	3	5	4	4	4	4	5
Solakpur$_2$	-	-	3	2	4	3	3	3	3	2	5	4	4	4	5	5	4	3	4	5	5	5	5	5
Kalaiya	3	1	1	-	--	2	3	1	4	3	3	3	3	4	3	4	3	2	4	3	4	4	3	4
Garahal$_1$	5	2	5	5	3	-	2	3	2	2	2	1	3	5	4	3	3	2	5	4	4	4	5	3
Garahal$_2$	3	1	3	3	3	1	2	1	4	2	2	1	3	5	3	3	3	1	5	5	5	5	5	5
Santapur$_1$	3	3	3	3	1	2	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	3	3	3	1	1	4	4	4	4	4	4
Santapur$_2$	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	-	-	1	3	3	1	4	3	1	3	3	3	1	4	3
Asanwa	5	3	5	5	5	3	2	3	3	1	3	2	4	4	1	5	-	-	5	5	5	5	5	5
Sripur	4	5	4	5	3	5	2	4	3	5	5	4	2	3	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	1
Balawa	3	3	3	4	3	3	3	3	3	1	3	3	1	1	1	3	1	1	-	1	3	1	1	3
Maithili Brahmin Ghorghas$_1$	3	2	5	5	3	3	4	5	4	3	4	3	5	1	4	4	4	1	3	4	1	-	-	2
Maithili Brahmin Ghorghas$_2$	5	4	5	3	4	4	3	4	1	3	3	5	3	2	4	5	3	4	2	3	4	1	1	3

SCALE

1 exactly the same
2 very similar
3 similar
4 different
5 very different

TABLE 3

INFORMANTS' OPINIONS OF WHETHER OTHER DIALECTS ARE SIMILAR TO OR DIFFERENT FROM THEIR OWN DIALECT

The villages in which stories were taped and informants questioned are arranged in geographical location on the table. As one moves across the table and down the table, one moves from west to east.

After looking at the table, a few remarks are necessary:

a. Some informants, due to individual differences, would rate high overall while others would rate low. One Ghorghas informant rated Banauli high (i.e. different) and the other Ghorghas informant rated Banauli very low (i.e. similar). This is an example of extremes in individual differences.

b. Villages west of Asanwa seem to rate Asanwa lower than they rate villages around Asanwa, showing that they feel Asanwa's dialect is closer to their dialects than other dialects in Asanwa's area. However, Asanwa rates far western villages high depicting Asanwa's tendency to rate high overall.

c. Western villages rated Matseri higher than they rated villages around Matseri. They generally felt that the Matseri dialect was quite a bit different from their own dialects. Ghorghas rated Matseri low, meaning that Ghorghas felt the Matseri dialect was quite similar to its own.

In order to get a better idea of the general pattern of these informants' opinions, each informant's opinions for groups of six stories at a time were averaged out. Table 4 shows the results. Villages in the far west, i.e. Solakpur and Kalaiya, rate other villages in the far west low (similar) and then the rate slowly grows higher as one moves east. Villages in the middle area, (or what has been defined as the transition zone above), i.e. Garahal, Santapur and Asanwa, rate the far west and far east higher (more different) than the middle area. Finally, the far eastern villages, i.e. Sripur, Balawa and Ghorghas, rate the west high (different) and the east low (similar) with the middle area between the high and low.

To see if a prestigious dialect existed, i.e. if some informants rated a certain dialect low (similar) whereas the speaker of that certain dialect rated other informants' dialect high (different), Table 5 was made. Informants' opinions of each other's dialects are tabulated on the table. In instances where a village had more than one storyteller or more than one informant was questioned, the numbers were averaged out. The first number in each box is the opinion

Villages in which informants were questioned	Solakpur$_1$	Solakpur$_2$	Bahuwari	Kalaiya$_1$	Kalaiya$_2$	Garahal	Thaskol	Pokharwinda	Rangpur	Santapur$_1$	Santapur$_2$	Santapur$_3$	Dumaria	Matseri	Dhurba	Malangwa	Asanwa$_1$	Asanwa$_2$	Balawa	Jaleswar	Banauli	non-Maithil Brahmin Ghorghas$_1$	Maithili Brahmin Ghorghas$_2$	Khajuri
Solakpur$_1$	1.4						3.2						3.7						4.3					
Solakpur$_2$	3.0						3.3						4.7						4.8					
Kalaiya	1.8						2.8						3.2						3.6					
Garahal$_1$	4.0						2.0						3.3						4.7					
Garahal$_2$	2.3						2.0						3.0						5.0					
Santapur$_1$	2.5						1.3						2.2						4.0					
Santapur$_2$	1.3						1.0						2.5						2.8					
Asanwa	4.3						2.3						3.8						5.0					
Sripur	4.3						3.8						2.3						1.7					
Balawa	3.1						2.7						1.3						1.8					
Maithili Brahmin Ghorghas$_1$	3.5						3.8						3.2						2.5					
Maithili Brahmin Ghorghas$_2$	4.7						3.2						3.5						2.3					

Villages in which stories were taped

SCALE

1 exactly the same
2 very similar
3 similar
4 different
5 very different

TABLE 4

INFORMANTS' OPINIONS OF WHETHER OTHER DIALECTS ARE SIMILAR OR DIFFERENT TO THEIR OWN DIALECT TAKING SIX STORIES AT A TIME

	Solakpur	Kalaiya	Garahal	Santapur	Asanwa	Balawa	Maithili Brahmin Ghorghas
Solakpur	X						
Kalaiya	2 ; 2	X					
Garahal	2.8; 3	4; 2	X				
Santapur	2 ; 3.5	2; 3	1.5;1.6	X			
Asanwa	4 ; 3.5	5; 2.5	3;2.3	2 ;1.5	X		
Balawa	3; 4.5	3.5;4	3 ;5	2.3;3.5	1 ; 5	X	
Maithili Brahmin Ghorghas	3.5;4.5	3.8;3	3.5;5	3.5;4	3 ; 5	2.5; 1	X

TABLE 5

INFORMANTS' OPINIONS OF EACH OTHERS DIALECTS USING THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SCALE

SCALE

1 exactly the same
2 very similar
3 similar
4 different
5 very different

17.

of the village on the side of the dialect of the village up top. The second number is the opinion of the village up top of the dialect of the village on the side. From looking at the table, one can see there is not perfect correspondance between informants' opinions of each other's dialect. The only definite pattern that appears to be unusual is that Balawa rates every other dialect lower (more similar) than other informants rate the Balawa dialect. This is because Balawa, on a whole, rated other dialects low. If one averages out each informant's total ratings, one discovers that Balawa has one of the lowest averages. This is probably due to individual differences.

2.2.2. Informants' opinions of whether the taped dialects were Bhojpuri or Maithili are shown in Table 6. The corresponding map to Table 6 is Map 4. Not all villages were included on the sociolinguistic survey. Those that were not are scratched out on the map. Dumaria was included on the sociolinguistic survey but not on the linguistic survey so its name has just been added to the map.

Map 5 shows informants' opinions of what their own dialect is. Villages not included in either the Bhojpuri or Maithili enclosure gave another name to their dialect such as Tharu, Dehati, Local or mixed.

Comparing Maps 4 and 5, one can see that in both maps there are a group of villages in the far east, approximately numbers 16 through 20, that speak Maithili. In the far west, villages 1 through 4 are generally considered to speak Bhojpuri with the exception of one informant from Ghorghas who considered one of the Solakpur texts to be local Maithili. The area between village 4 and village 15 seems to vary in the two maps. Thus, once again, this 'varying' area would be the transition zone.

Taking into consideration the exception mentioned above, the two maps show that informants' opinion of what their own dialect is, and what others think it is, corresponds fairly well. This information also points to the fact that there isn't a prestigious dialect. Informants do not seem ashamed of their own dialect nor do they claim they speak something different than they do. Scholars have noted that natives speaking a dialect with little prestige often claim that they speak a more prestigious dialect. (Gumperz 1971: Chapter 1) This does

Villages in which informants were questioned	Solakpur$_1$	Solakpur$_2$	Bahuwari	Kalaiya$_1$	Kalaiya$_2$	Garahal	Thaskol	Pokharwinda	Rangpur	Santapur$_1$	Santapur$_2$	Santapur$_3$	Dumaria	Matseri	Dhurba	Malangwa	Asanwa$_1$	Asanwa$_2$	Balawa	Jaleswar	Banauli	Ghorghas$_1$ non-Maithil Brahmin	Ghorghas$_2$ Maithili Brahmin	Khajuri
Solakpur$_1$	B	-	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	M	M	B		B	B	M	M	M	M	M	M
Solakpur$_2$	-	-	B	B							M		M	M			M		M		M	M	M	M
Kalaiya	3	B	B	-	-	B		B	M	B	B	B			M		B	B	M	M	M	M	M	M
Garahal$_1$	B	B	B	B	B	-	B	B				B		M				B	M	M	M	M	M	M
Garahal$_2$	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B		B	E	B		M	B	B	B	B	M		M	M	M	M
Santapur$_1$	B	B	B	B		B	B	B	B	-	-	-							M	M		M	M	M
Santapur$_2$										-	-									M			M	M
Asanwa		B		B		B	M	B		B		B		M	B				M		M		M	M
Sripur	B	B				B	M	B	M		B	M	M		M		M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
Balawa	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	M	B	B	M	M	M		M	M	-	M	M	M	M	M
Ghorghas$_1$ Maithili Brahmin	B	M	-	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B		B	M			B	B	M		M	-	-	M
Ghorghas$_2$ Maithili Brahmin													M	M			M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M

Villages in which stories were taped

TABLE 6

INFORMANTS' OPINIONS OF WHETHER OTHER DIALECTS ARE BHOJPURI OR MAITHILI

B= Bhojpuri
M= Maithili
Blank= mixture of Bhojpuri and Maithili, or Tharu Bhasa, or local, etc.
- = informant being questioned recognized storyteller's voice

19.

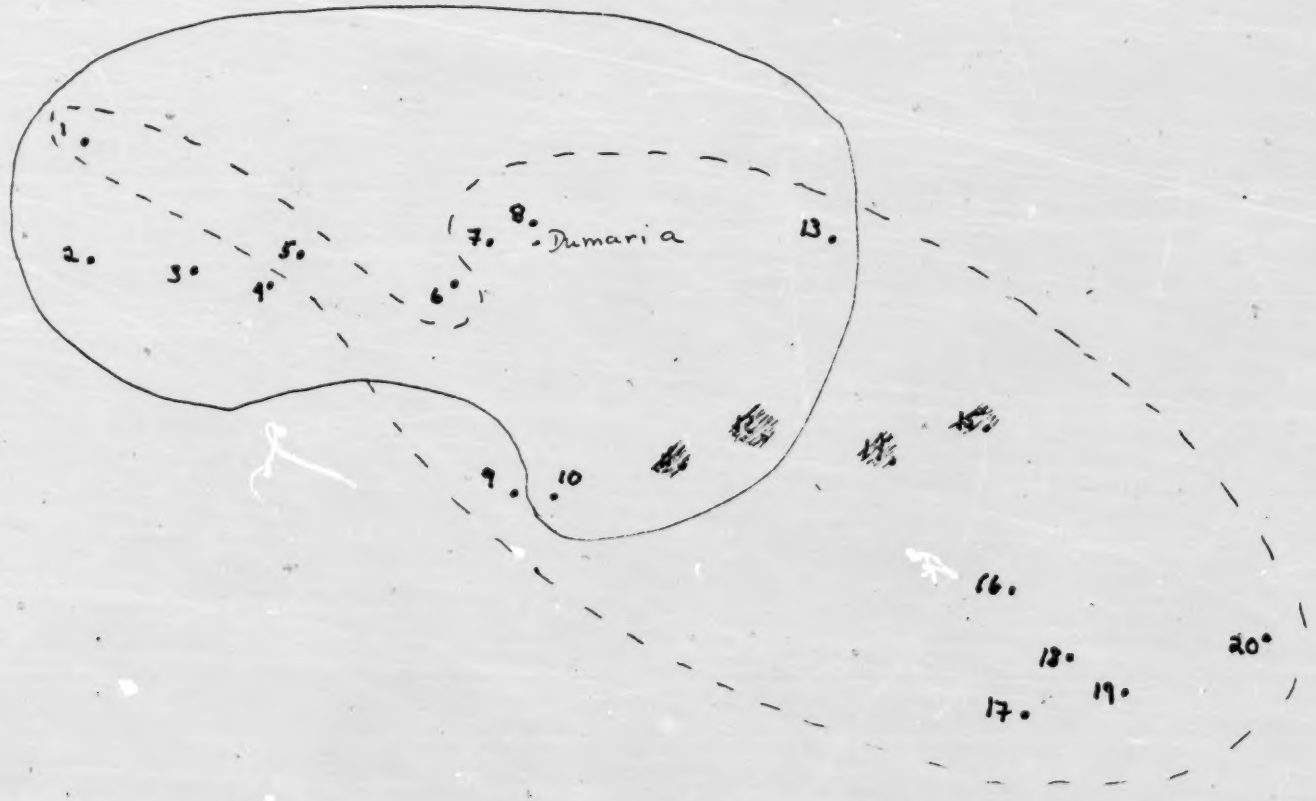
Bhojpuri - Maithili

Informants' opinions of whether other dialects are Bhojpuri or Maithili

MAP 4

—— Bhojpuri

- - - Maithili



20.

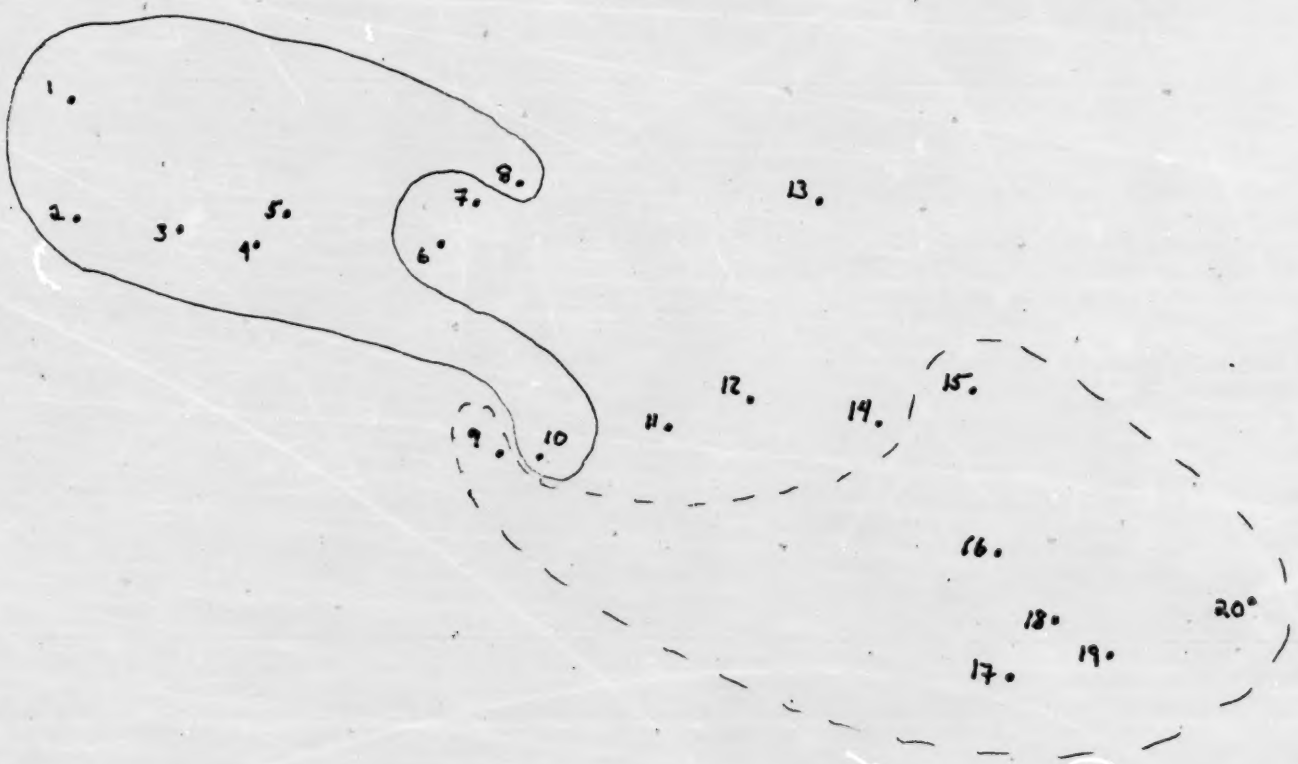
Bhojpuri - Maithili

Informants' opinion of whether they speak Bhojpuri or Maithili

MAP 5

——— Bhojpuri (and variants such as local Bhojpuri)

- - - Maithili (including local Maithili)



not appear to be the case in this survey area.

2.2.3. In the sociolinguistic questionnaire, informants were also asked to determine what was the caste of each storyteller after listening to the story. All the informants, except two, immediately claimed that it was impossible to identify the castes by merely listening to the dialect. Many of the informants were Tharu or Maithili Brahmin. Sometimes these informants and others would venture to say if a storyteller was Tharu or not Tharu, or Maithili Brahmin or not Maithili Brahmin. Such responses are tabulated below:

Guesses that a certain storyteller was Maithili Brahmin:
# of correct guesses: 7 # of incorrect guesses: 6

Guesses that a certain storyteller was not Maithili Brahmin:
# of correct guesses: 5 # of incorrect guesses: 0

Thus only a little over half of the guesses that a certain storyteller was Maithili Brahmin were correct. Another note to make, however, is that out of twenty-four stories, four stories were told by Maithili Brahmins. Thirteen informants were asked their opinions of the castes of the storyteller. Thus if all the informants had guessed the correct caste on all the Maithili Brahmin stories, the number of answers would be fifty-two. If all the informants had correctly claimed that all non-Maithili Brahmin stories were told by non-Maithili Brahmins, there would have been 260 answers. Thus only a very small percentage of informants ventured to distinguish whether a storyteller was Maithili Brahmin or not in a very few cases.

Guesses that a certain storyteller was Tharu:
# of correct guesses: 18 # of incorrect guesses: 17

Guesses that a certain storyteller was not Tharu:
# of correct guesses: 13 # of incorrect guesses: 6

Only about half of the guesses that a certain storyteller was Tharu were correct. All together there were nine Tharu stories. The maximum number of correct guesses that a certain storyteller was Tharu would be 117. The maximum number of correct guesses that a certain storyteller was not Tharu would be 195. Once again, only a small percentage of informants offered an opinion of whether a storyteller was Tharu or not on only a few of the stories.

A few specific remarks will emphasize the above data. Maithili

Brahmin informants would guess that lower castes were Maithili Brahmins. Tharus would guess Maithili Brahmins to be Tharu and Tharus to be Maithili Brahmin. (For further comment on this, see the conclusion.)

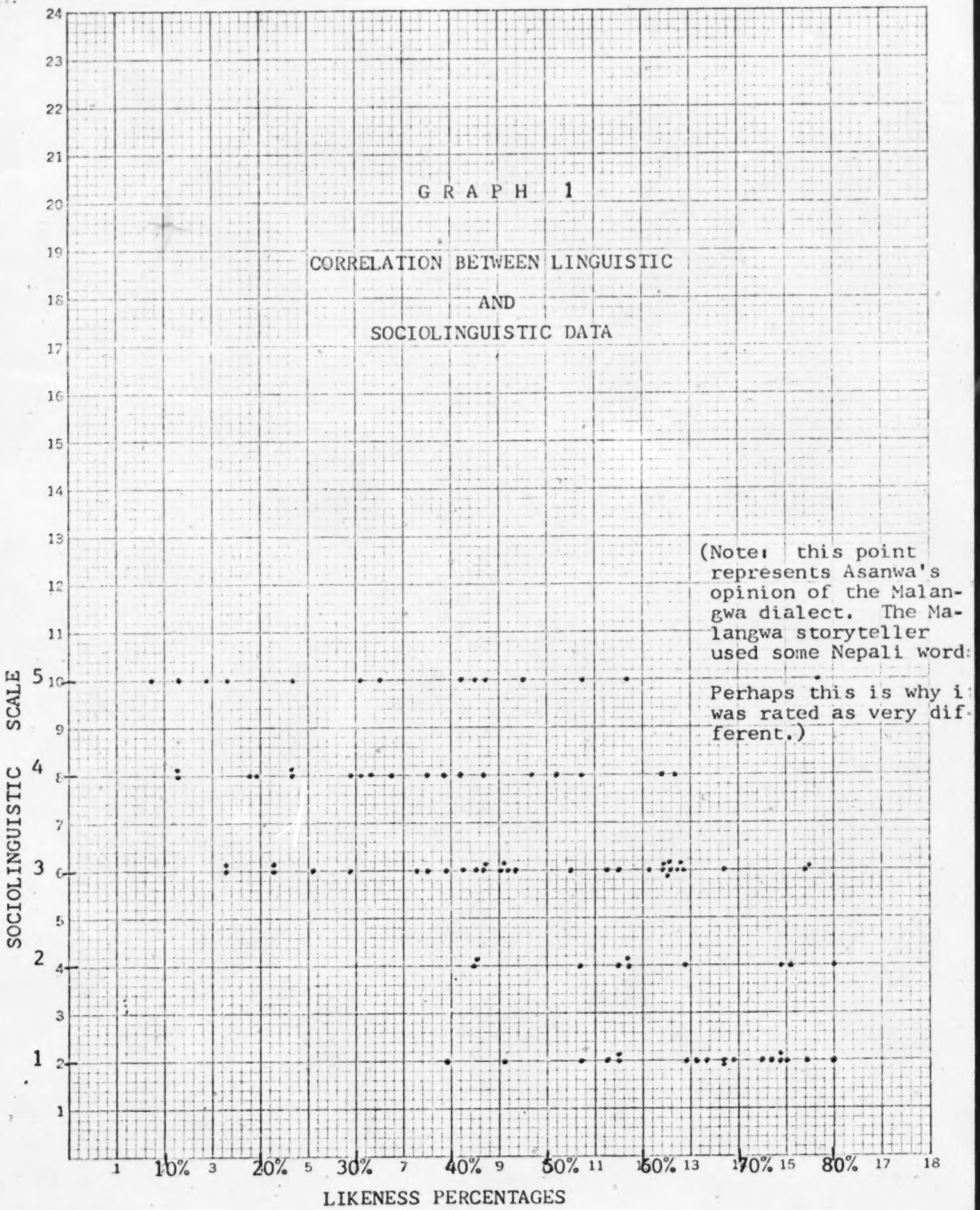
2.3 The analysis done to see if there is a correlation between the linguistic and sociolinguistic data came out positive. Graph 1 shows this correlation visually. Note that the lower left-hand corner of the graph is free of points; i.e. 1's and 2's on the sociolinguistic scale never corresponded to any percentage below 39%, 3's never corresponded to any percentage below 16%, 4's to any percentage below 11%. Similarily, the upper right-hand corner of the graph is relatively free of points. Thus the graph shows a positive correlation between the two sets of data.

A better presentation of this correlation can be seen in the average likeness percentages that correspond to the numbers on the scale. The particulars of this were explained above under Analysis Methods. These averages are as follows:

Scale	Percentage Average
1 (exactly the same)	63.1%
2 (very similar)	58.0%
3 (similar)	49.1%
4 (different)	37.3%
5 (very different)	30.6%

The positive correlation here is obvious. On the average, when informants rate other dialects as exactly the same as their own dialect, it corresponds to a high likeness percentage, and so on down the scale. This shows that the linguistic data and sociolinguistic data correspond. In other words, informants' opinions of whether dialects are similar or different correspond to whether there is a high likeness percentage or a low likeness percentage respectively. Thus informants are most likely basing their opinions on linguistic information rather than on social attitudes or values.

The positive correlation between the two sets of data enables the use of one set for support of theories concluded from the other set and vice versa. In other words, the outcome results of this research



5 Squares to the Centimeter

can be supported both linguistically and sociolinguistically as will be shown in the conclusion.

3. Having presented and examined all the data, there are specific conclusions to be drawn about the transitional dialects between Bhojpuri and Maithili. These conclusions will answer the initial questions put forth at the outset of the survey: the how and where of the transition.

3.1.1. After examining the data, it can be concluded that the "how" of the transition is not dependent on caste. There is no basis to claim that caste dialects have an influence on the dialect transition of this survey area or that they even exist. "The term 'caste dialect' implies that a caste group is a homogenous communication group, and the variety of speech so designated is both a structural and cultural isolate." (Pattanayak Vol.IV, No.1:98) This is obviously not the case of caste groups. The caste system is much more complex and, of course, there is communication between castes. Thus "caste dialects" do not exist in this area but here is some evidence that "social-patterning" dialects exist. "Social-patterning dialects" means that certain groups of people have certain social patterns (such as marriage) in common and that there is more social interaction within this group than between groups. Often these groups correspond to certain castes although this is not always the case (i.e. often there will be more social interaction between different castes of the same village which would make up one social-pattern group, than between the same caste from different villages). Often social patterns of various castes will overlap. For example, education which use to primarily be a Brahmin social pattern is now a social pattern shared by many castes. Often a person may belong to two different social-pattern groups - say his village-group which comprises everyone in his village and his caste-group where he will seek a spouse, exchange rituals, etc. Thus, it is inaccurate to say that "caste dialects" exist in this area. But certain social-pattern groups do exist and these may or may not correspond to castes. "Linguistic variations are not correlated with individuals nor with caste groups but with a number of social contexts which cut across caste groups." (Pattanayak Vol.IV, No.1:98)

3.1.2. The survey data supports the above theory. First, it was noticed that Matseri, a Maithili Brahmin Village in Rautahat District, has a lower likeness percentage with Bhojpuri-speaking villages and a higher likeness percentage with Maithili-speaking Maithili Brahmin villages than do villages around Matseri. Yet Matseri's highest likeness percentages are with near-by non-Brahmin non-pure Maithili-speaking and Bhojpuri-speaking villages. Here is a case where villagers belong to two social groups which in turn affect their dialect linguistically. The villagers of Matseri have certain social links with other Maithili Brahmins such as marriage. They belong to the Maithili Brahmin group. Yet a lot of their daily interaction is done with other castes in the area, so they belong to the local group also. Since their highest likeness percentages are with these other villages in the area, it can be said that, based on the likeness percentages, their membership to the first group, the Maithili Brahmin group, doesn't play as strong an influence on their language as does their membership to the second group, the local group. According to the sociolinguistic scale data, Matseri is much closer to Ghorghas and the east than the far west as far as their dialects are concerned. Matseri's linkage to the Maithili Brahmin social group is apparent here. However, no informants in Matseri or in immediately surrounding were questioned on the sociolinguistic survey. The closest village where informants were questioned was Santapur who rated the Matseri dialect as similar to theirs. Thus Matseri's linkage to the immediate-neighbor group is not discounted in the sociolinguistic data.

It would be appropriate to note that Dumaria was not usually rated as high (different) as Matseri by far western villages nor was it rated as low (similar) as Matseri by eastern villages on the sociolinguistic questionnaire. Yet the storyteller in Dumaria was a Maithili Brahmin who lived approximately thirteen miles north of Matseri. Why then does Matseri have this obvious link with Maithili Brahmin villages in the east whereas Dumaria doesn't? The answer is found in each village's <u>immediate</u> social environment. Matseri is a village of Maithili Brahmins. It has been said that there is another village of Maithili Brahmins just south of Matseri. In the immediate social environment of Matseri there are enough Maithili Brahmins to form their own speech community and to perpetuate their own dialect. The immedi-

ate social environment of Dumaria is much different. There is only one Maithili Brahmin and his wife in Dumaria, the one used as a story-teller. There are no other Maithili Brahmins in near-by villages. Most of the villagers of Dumaria are Tharu or low castes. This Dumaria Maithili Brahmin rarely interacts with other Maithili Brahmins. His interaction is usually with the local people. So his dialect is different than that found in Matseri. In fact, he said that he doesn't speak Maithili, that he speaks "Tharu Bhasa", i.e. the local dialect, even with his Brahmin wife.

It was noticed in the sociolinguistic data that many western villages rated Asanwa low; in other words, they felt that the Asanwa dialect was similar to theirs. The above theory of "social-patterning" dialects may help explain this situation also. Asanwa is a predominantly Tharu village. Many of the villages in which informants were questioned on the sociolinguistic questionnaire in the west were also Tharu. The Tharu culture and ethnic ties are strong ones. There is a lot of interaction between Tharus from various villages, i.e. visiting, festivals, marriage, etc. Perhaps this interaction causes Tharus to view each other's dialects as similar.

Even more evidence than the above is given in the data to disprove the theory of caste dialects in the survey area. The question concerning castes in the sociolinguistic questionnaire completely destroys the idea of "caste dialects". Merely looking at this set of data proves that informants can't and often won't identify castes by merely listening to speech. Those informants that do venture to identify the caste are often completely mistaken.

All the above mentioned evidence shows that "castes" do not influence the "how" of the dialect transition between Bhojpuri and Maithili. However, social patterns and interaction do affect the "how" and "where" of the transition as was seen in the case of Matseri in southern Rautahat District and, to a lesser extent, Asanwa in northern Sarlahi District.

A correlative of the above is that, in the survey area, Tharu is not a separate language. The Tharus in this area speak what all the other castes and ethnic groups speak, the local dialect of a particular locale. However, often locals will call their language "Tharu Bhasa" ('bhasa' means language in Nepali and other Indo-Aryan languages) even though it is a transitional dialect between Bhojpuri and

Maithili. One Tharu informant commented that in many villages and locales, Tharus are the dominant caste thus people call the language "Tharu Bhasa".

3.2. For support of the above theories the results from both the linguistic and sociolinguistic data were used. Because of the positive correlation between the informants' opinions of other dialects and the likeness percentages between dialects, these two sets of data can be used to support each other. Also, the positive correlation shows that there are probably no prejudice attitudes, no feelings of superiority or inferiority, etc. involved in the language aspect of this area. Thus language planning in this area can be done easily and efficiently based on linguistic data.

3.3. The results of the main purpose of this study have not yet been stated: the where and how of the transition between Bhojpuri and Maithili. The likeness percentages and the sociolinguistic scale table both showed that the transition is mainly a gradual, geographical transition from west to east, i.e. from Bhojpuri to Maithili (or if one wishes, one could say from east to west, i.e. from Maithili to Bhojpuri). The villages in the far west of the survey area in both sets of data identified with far western villages the most and identified the least with far eastern villages. The villages in the middle identified most with other middle-area villages and lesser towards the east and west extremes. Villages in the east identified with other eastern villages the most and with western villages the least. Thus the picture is one of a gradual transition based mainly on east-west or west-east geography. The area is a continuum, as scholars have found in other Indo-Aryan language-speaking areas.

3.4. In the article used as initial background for this study, the author hypothesized that the continuum of Indo-Aryan languages was due to Indo-Aryan patterns of migration. During the survey, the migration patterns in the area were barely touched upon. Any information that was obtained concerning migration was from asking informants. Two interesting points about migration in the survey area can be made however:

a. The Tharus in most of the survey area are Kochila Tharus. (The Tharus in Solakpur, Parsa District are Lampuchhuwa Tharus). The Kochila Tharus probably originally represented onemigration group. Today, in the six districts where the survey was conducted, the largest concentration of Kochila Tharus appears to be in the four western districts: Parsa, Bara, Rautahat and Sarlahi. Perhaps this single migration of Kochila Tharus can also account for Asanwa's link to western Tharu villages. I.e. Asanwa Tharus and Tharus further west, in other words Kochila Tharus, all migrated together at one point in history. The direction of this migration is questionable.
b. Informants from Matseri were asked how long their families had been living in Matseri. The answer was many, many generations. Further probing revealed that originally they had probably migrated from the Janakpur area, the center of ancient Mithila. Perhaps Matseri's linkage to Maithili-speaking villages in the east is partly dependent on this migration also. More work on migration patterns in this area would undoubtedly prove interesting.

3.5. The isoglosses and Table 6 along with Maps 2 and 3 (concerning whether the language of a village is Bhojpuri or Maithili) gives us the "where" of the transition. The isoglosses distinguish two focal areas: one focal area comprising villages 1 through 3 and the other focal area comprising approximately villages 15 through 20. Villages 4 through 14 are the transition zone. The data on Table 6 and Maps 2 and 3 distinguish a group of villages (no.s 1 through 4) that speak Bhojpuri and a group of villages (no.s 16 through 20) that speak Maithili, with the rest of the villages in between being in a varying zone. These two different measures, the isoglosses and the data on which language is spoken in various villages, both point to the same conclusion as to the "where" of the transition. The transition, i.e. the area which contitutes the main gradual continuum between Bhojpuri and Maithili, starts approximately at Village 4 (Garahal, Bara District) and runs as far as Village 15 (Sripur, Mahotari District) approximately. The area west of this transition zone is the Bhojpuri speaking area. The area east of the transition zone is the Maithili speaking area. The whole area, from Village 1 through Village 20, have mutually intelligible dialects. If one were to define

the dialects and their boundaries, there would be one dialect/language in the west comprising approximately Villages 1 to 4 and one dialect/language in the east comprising Villages 15 to 20. The transition area cannot be divided up into different dialects because in a gradual continuum such as this, dialect boundaries are undefinable. Thus one cannot say where one dialect stops and the other starts in the transition area. The word 'dialect', no matter what its definition, will not portray the how and where of this transition. The word 'continuum' would be much more accurate in describing the area. This continuum is mainly dependent on geography, i.e. the continuum flows east-west or west-east however one prefers to define it.

4. The above results of this dialect survey will be of use to those in Nepal who are working on the language planning program for Nepal. There results will allow language planners to know what is the local language in various locales in the survey area and what are the local social attitudes towards various surrounding dialects. This study can be used as a background for language planning in the survey area.

5. This dialect survey, conducted to discover the dialect pattern of the transition between Bhojpuri and Maithili, has had some definite results. Through the field methods of eliciting words, common expressions and verb lists and conducting a sociolinguistic questionnaire with the aid of tapes, and through various analysis methods, the following results have appeared: There is a gradual transition between Bhojpuri and Maithili that is dependent mostly on geography. It is not at all dependent on castes but social patterns have a minor effect. There are no strong prejudices nor social attitudes that tint the picture. The transition zone can be geographically defined as consisting of eastern Bara District, Rautahat District, Sarlahi District and western Mahotari District. The focal area of Bhojpuri in this particular survey was Parsa District and western Bara District. The focal area of Maithili was eastern Mahotari District and Dhanusha District.

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NOTES

1. For further classification of these languages, see S. K. Chatterji 1926, The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language (Part I, Introduction, Phonology.) Chatterji, after Grierson, classifies Bhojpuri, Magahi and Maithili as Bihari languages, which along with Oriya, Bengali and Dialects and Assamese, have descended form the Magadhi Apabhranśa. Grierson in the Linguistic Survey of India also has the definition of 'outer' and 'inner' groups, with Bihari languages belonging to the former.

2. These census figures were taken form "The Languages of Nepal" by Dr. Subhadra Subba (Seminar Papers in Linguistics: Problems and Perspectives in Linguistic Studies).

3. Information on the Swadesh word lists and the lists themselves can be found in William Samarin's Field Linguistics, pp. 218-223. A detailed account of the Swadesh word lists appears in Sarah C. Gudschinsky's article "The ABC's of Lexicostatistics (Glottochronology)", pp. 612-623 in Dell Hymes' (editor) Language in Culture and Society: A Reader in Linguistics and Anthropology.

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